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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the relationship between gender, age, and length of residence in the United States and codeswitching behavior, by looking at the attitudes of 133 Hispanic college students who are first-generation immigrants from a variety of countries. The subjects completed questionnaires concerning their English and Spanish language proficiency, use of Spanish, and familiarity with and attitudes toward codeswitching. Results showed codeswitching to be relatively widespread among the sample, with significant ethnic differences in codeswitching behavior, familiarity, and attitudes. Puerto Rican students were most disposed and likely to use codeswitching, South Americans the least disposed, and Cubans the least likely to engage in codeswitching. In addition, age, gender, Spanish use level, length of residence in the United States, and English proficiency were found to affect familiarity with codeswitching or codeswitching behavior. Attitudes became more positive with longer periods of residence. The most powerful predictor of familiarity and codeswitching behavior, of the background variables considered, was the subjects' country of origin. Tables, a reference list, and the questionnaire are included. (MSE)

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THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND, SPANISH USE, AND ENGLISH PROFICIENCY ON CODESWITCHING ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

By

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January, 1988

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INTRODUCTION

Defining Codeswitching

Among linguists, the issue of codeswitching has become a topic of hot debate. McClure (1981) has noted that there is not even agreement among scholars as what constitutes a codeswitch. For example, Shaffer (1978) has maintained that codeswitching is specifically not the use of single words, but must involve entire phrases, and is distinct from borrowing. On the other hand Pfaff (1976) has included the use of single words in the definition of codeswitching. For the purposes of this study, Pfaff's more liberal definition that includes both word and phrase switches will be used.

Issues in Codeswitching Behavior

In addition to the controversy over what constitutes codeswitching, there have been disputes over the issues of the relationship of codeswitching to linguistic competence, i.e., whether codeswitching reflects a weakness in fluency in the dominant language (cf., Schulta, 1975; Genishi, 1977; Valdes-Fallis, 1978; Poplack, 1979; Cobales-Vega, 1980; Garcia, 1981; Zentella, 1981); and the relationship between codeswitching and dominant and subordinate languages (cf. Sanchez, 1983). The latter issue has implications far beyond that of linguistic choice to the relations between dominant and subordinate populations, economic exploitation, and what has been referred to as "cultural imperialism" (Carnoy, 1974).

This interest has led to a number of areas of research in codeswitching, including the functions and structures of codeswitching behavior, and the development of typologies of codeswitching. Gumperz and Hernández (1975) have produced the most often used typology based on context and function. Situational codeswitching is defined as switched language across social or physical barriers; for example, parents may codeswitch when talking to children to communicate a sense of intimacy. Conversational codeswitching occur within a specific conversation, when physical and social contexts are unvarying, as when persons conversing may wish to communicate nuances in one language that are absent in the other.

Those who have synthesized the research on codeswitching behavior, such as Padilla (1980), Valdez (1981), and Sanchez (1983) have generally concluded that codeswitching is a linguistic strategy that has numerous functions, and that the bilingualism necessary for codeswitching brings to the speaker an increased -- rather than decreased -- repertoire of tools for self-expression. Indeed, Valdez and Sanchez, in their ethnographic studies have stated that codeswitching is often used for rhetorical and ideological purposes by their speakers. Gumperz (1967) has noted that bilinguals "alternate [N.B.: codeswitch] between the two languages for much of the same reasons that monolinguals select among styles of a single language" (p. 48). One might add that bilinguals are not denied the linguistic variations within each language.

Important to this study is the emerging view of codeswitching as a means of communicating social identity and ethnic solidarity. Attitudes toward codeswitching can be hypothesized to be linked to attitudes toward one's own ethnicity, assimilation, and cultural orientation. There is a need for exploratory research on who uses codeswitching, and what are the attitudes of various collectivities toward codeswitching.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to determine the effects of gender, age, and length of residence in the U.S. on codeswitching among Hispanic college students of Puerto Rican, Dominican, Cuban, Central American, and South American background. The principal questions to be addressed are:

1. Who has the most exposure to code-switching behavior?
2. Who uses it most and when?
3. Who accepts it more?

In addition this study will attempt to determine the effects of claimed language use and language proficiency on codeswitching.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There have been an increasing number of studies of codeswitching since the late 1960s. Most of the research involved Spanish and English codeswitching in the Unites

States among Hispanic adults, particularly among Mexican-American (Chicano) adults. A few studies of Puerto Rican codeswitching have been conducted (Poplack, 1978; Marlos and Zentella, 1978).

Research on codeswitching among Hispanic children has consistently refuted the hypothesis that it is associated with linguistic deficits. Schults (1975) and Genishi (1980) concluded independently that codeswitching frequency among the children they studied was related to the speaker's perception of the linguistic abilities of the listener. Genishi concluded, as did Barkin (1977), that codeswitching was used by children as an identity marker, emphasizing ethnic solidarity. Poplack (1978) presented evidence that codeswitching, rather than resulting from linguistic deficit, required sophistication in both languages. Williams (1980), in a study of the speech of 16 Puerto Rican students over a four month period, concluded that linguistic weakness was not an adequate explanation for codeswitching. She found that balanced bilingual students were able to realize a wider range of sociolinguistic functions through codeswitching than those clearly dominant in one language. Zentella (1981), based on a study of 34 children, concluded that 78 percent of all codeswitches included words the children knew in both languages, and that only a small number of codeswitches were for "crutching." McClure (1981) found that the type of codeswitching altered with increased linguistic ability. Younger children codeswitched at the word level, while older children and adults were more likely

to codeswitch intrasententially.

Research on age-differences in codeswitching have been primarily conducted on children (e.g., Genishi, 1977; Garcia, et al., 1981, 1983; McClure, 1981; Ledgerberg & Morales, 1985). Garcia, et al. found that codeswitching decreased between ages 4-6. Genishi found that adults codeswitched more than children, apparently because of their greater linguistic ability. Lederberg and Morales found that knowledge of codeswitching rules increased with age.

Several studies have been conducted on the effects of language usage on codeswitching among adult Hispanics. Wolfram (1978) found a functional allocation among his Puerto Rican subjects. Spanish was perceived as the tie to the family and native culture, while English was perceived as the language that represented the society to which they aspired. McMenamin (1973) studied codeswitching among Chicanos, concluding that switching behavior was related to the functional allocation of languages. Codeswitches represented a change in linguistic orientation. Timm (1975) concluded that switching to Spanish was a device for indicating personal feelings, while switching to English signalled detachment, alienation, fear, or a conversation about topics that are typically English.

McClure and Wentz (1975) noted that most codeswitching occurred when the speaker was using Spanish, and that language dominance may explain its prevalence in Spanish. They also found that switching involves nouns and

quotations, and is often used to signal the expression of special ideas.

Redinger (1976) found that codeswitching was predominantly from Spanish to English, and varied according to the verbal facility of the speaker, manner and age the speaker learned each language, proficiency in each language, specialized use of each language, and individual and community attitudes toward the two langauges.

Valdes-Fallis (1978) classified Chicano subjects in terms of language dominance. She found that type of codeswitching varied with type of language dominance, with Spanish-dominant subjects less sophisticated in their codeswitching than English dominant or balanced speakers.

Coballes-Vega (1980) found in a study of the utterances of 32 Puerto Rican students ages 9-14, that English-dominant subjects produced both English-to-Spanish and Spanish-to-English codeswitches, while Spanish-dominant speakers produced mostly Spanish-to-English switches.

Aguirre (1978) found that linguistic dominance and codeswitching were closely associated, and that balanced speakers were more accepting of mixed language speech.
In a study of language use and language attitudes in Juarez, Mexico, Hidalgo (1983) found that English usage was associated with negative attitudes toward codeswitching.

In a conversational analysis of a female subject and her friends, Valdes-Fallis (1982) found that codeswitching did not normally occur because the respondent experienced a deficit in one language. She concluded that bilinguals

have a double stock of rhetorical devices derived from a linguistic supersystem in which the two languages are welded. Switching behavior was found to be positively related to linguistic competence.

Because codeswitching is such a complicated set of linguistic repertoires that can be used by novices when learning a language (usually English) for "crutching," as well as by those sophisticated in both languages as a form of snobbery (cf. Sanchez, 1983, p. 139), its relationship to language attitude is not clear-cut. Hidalgo (1983) found that those Mexicans whose loyalty was to the mother tongue, frowned upon codeswitching.

McMenamin (1973), while maintaining that codeswitching correlated with sociological background variables, found that within the community he studied, attitudes toward codeswitching were extremely mixed. As noted above, Redlinger (1976) found that codeswitching varied with individual and community attitudes toward the two languages. Hallcom (1981) found that in her sample of 122 Southwestern Chicanos, 40 percent felt that codeswitching was due to lack of vocabulary; however, only seven percent of her subjects were unable to give the linguisitic equivalent of codeswitched vocabulary when asked.

Research has indicated that codeswitching among the various linguistic groups in the U.S. is a community-wide occurrence. For example, in a study on language use in a Chicano community in East Austin, Texas, Elias-Olivares

(1976) described linguistic varieties and their functions -- the ways of speaking, as well as the attitudes held toward language by the community residents. As a result of her fieldwork, Elias-Olivares was able to detect a language repertoire among her subjects consisting of two varieties of English plus at least four varieties of Spanish. Code-switching was community-wide.

Code-switching has become a linguistic marker for the Puerto Rican and Mexican communities in the U.S. (Attinasi 1972; Valdes-Fallis, 1978). Barkin's (1977) data implied that her 33 Chicano migrant worker subjects used code-switching as a conveyor of feelings of ethnic solidarity.

Gumperz and Hernández (1978) conducted an informal study of adult professional Chicanos. They found that code-switching was a sophisticated and well-controlled technique that reflected social distance between the speaker and listener and the speaker's relation to the topic.

Ethnographic research by Zentella (1981) in East Harlem underscored the popularity of codeswitched speech and the variety of discourse functions served by language alternation. She concluded that children learn that codeswitching serves as a marker of a linguistic community, and that if they wish to be identified as part of that linguistic community, they would learn the rules of codeswitching.

Huerta-Macias (1981) found that, in an analysis of codeswitching in a family, codeswitches were used for emphasis, communication of expressive elements (e.g., emotion, sarcasm, humor), changes in communicative mode

(i.e., from informal to formal), and elaboration.

Sanchez (1983) has noted that codeswitching from Spanish to English allowed speakers to shift ideologically from a subordinate to dominant plane, since English is the dominant language, and its use can reflect an acceptance and expression of the dominant value system.

Garcia, Maez, and Gonzalez (1980, 1983) and Gonzalez and Maez (1980) have conducted studies on codeswitching among 4-, 5-, and 6-year old children in the southwestern, midwestern, eastern, and southern United States. They found that there were regional differences in use of code-switching, generally related to closeness of the Spanish culture. Children in the Southwest codeswitched most.

Laosa (1977) conducted a national study of school age children's codeswitching involving three Hispanic ethnic groups: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The Mexican-American children codeswitched more than the Puerto Rican or Cuban subjects.

In sum, the literature on codeswitching among Hispanics suggests that codeswitching is a complex linguistic phenomenon that is influenced by a number of situational and contextual variables. Codeswitching can be a temporary strategy as a child learns a second language. It can be used as an indicator of the status and verbal virtuosity of the speaker. It can be used to communicate meanings that cannot be communicated any other way. A speaker can codeswitch for any number of reasons, including consideration of the facil-

ity of the listener in one or the other language. In some communities, codeswitching is viewed positively as an indicator of intelligence, assimilation, or erudition. In other communities, it is viewed negatively as a bastardization of the mother tongue or the denial of one's cultural heritage.

Since codeswitching occurs widely among Hispanics in the U.S. there exists an urgent need for comparative studies in which differences among Hispanic groups in relationship to codeswitching are explored. This review uncovered no comparative studies of codeswitching behaviors and attitudes of adults. In addition, in recent years there has been an influx of immigrants from the West Indies, Central, and South America. At present there has been very little research conducted on these new Hispanic-American populations. There have been no linguistic studies of such groups as Dominicans, Central Americans, or South Americans; nor has there been any attempt to assess differences among these groups in codeswitching behaviors. There also have been no attempts to compare their codeswitching behaviors with those of groups who have been in the U.S. for many years. The study proposed here will extend understanding of diverse linguistic group exposure to codeswitching, increase knowledge of who uses it and when they use it, and who accepts it. Such research should allow a better understanding of each linguistic group.

Theoretical Rationale

There are a number of factors that may influence code-

switching among Hispanic populations, including intimacy and frequency of contact with Anglophonic culture, historical relations between Hispanic and Anglo societies, attitudes toward cultural identities within ethnic groups, and other factors which have not yet been explored. Included in the latter category are the findings of Poplack (1982) and The Center for Puerto Rican Studies (1982) in which women were found to codeswitch more than men. Since women in Hispanic communities tend to be more closely tied to the home and would tend to have less contact with Anglos, the reason for this relationship remains a mystery and needs to be explored in future research.

It is hypothesized that those groups that have greater contact with Anglo culture will codeswitch more than those who have less contact, with the above exception noted. This includes children in school and younger people in general, those who have been in the U.S.A. the longest, those with better English proficiency, and those who use Spanish less in their daily conversations.

It is also hypothesized that groups that are more insular and have stronger negative attitudes toward code-switching will use codeswitching less than those who have more liberal, open attitudes toward it. In addition, those ethnic groups that have been in the U.S.A. for shorter periods of time will codeswitch less than those who have been in the U.S.A. longer.

Hypotheses

1. Women will be
   a. more familiarized with code-switching
   b. use more code-switching
   c. will have more positive attitudes toward code-switching than men.

2. The younger age group will be
   a. more familiarized with code-switching
   b. use more code-switching
   c. will have more positive attitudes toward code-switching than the older group.

3. The order of
   a. more familiarization
   b. more use, and
   c. better attitudes among this population will be following, in terms of ethnicity:
      (1) non-South Americans, specifically Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and Central Americans, and
      (2) South Americans.

4. Those who have been in the U.S. the longest will be
   a. more familiarized with code-switching
   b. use more code-switching
   c. will have better attitudes toward code-switching than the ones who have arrived recently.

5. Those with better English proficiency will be:
   a. more familiarized with code-switching
   b. use more code-switching
   c. will have better attitudes toward code-switching than the ones who are limited English proficient.

6. Those who use Spanish less in communication will be:
   a. more familiarized with code-switching
   b. use more code-switching
   c. will have better attitudes toward code-switching than the ones who use Spanish more.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consists of 133 Hispanic students from La Guardia Community College who are first generation immigrants. Although, according to Hays (1963), multiple regression analyses need not have more cases than three

times the number of variables, this study was conducted by attempting to have a minimum of 20 subjects from each of the five ethnic subdivisions: (1) Puerto Ricans, (2) Dominicans, (3) Cubans, (4) Central Americans, (5) South Americans. Table 1 presents the ethnic composition of the sample.

Table 1

Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Sample by Place of Origin

Age	N	%
Puerto Rico	30	22.6
Dominican Republic	25	18.8
Cuba	16	12.0
Central America	27	20.3
South America	35	26.3
Total	133	100.0

The sample met the minimum criterion in all cases with the exception of the Cubans, which had only 16 cases. Because the sample size exceeds the minimum size for multiple regression analysis, such a small number is not of consequence, especially since all non-South Americans are collapsed into a single category for the regression analysis. An analysis of variance was conducted by ethnic group. According to Hays (1963), the minimum number for an independent variable in analysis of variance is 10. All groups meet this criterion.

The sample was overrepresented among female students, which seems to be the case among Hispanic college students. Table 2 contains the gender distribution of the sample.

Table 2

Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Sample by Gender

Gender	N	%
Males	29	21.8
Females	104	78.2
Total	133	100.0

Of the 133 subjects, 21.8 percent were males and 78.2 percent were females. Table 3 presents the frequency and percentage distribution of the sample on age.

Table 3

Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Sample by Age

Age	N	%
< 20	10	7.5
20-29	62	46.6
30-39	44	33.1
40-49	14	10.5
50-59	3	2.3
Total	133	100.0

The median age range of the sample is between 20-29,

with the average age at 25.3 years. This is somewhat older than the general undergraduate student population, but reflects the Hispanics' tendency to attend school after and during full-time employment. Table 4 contains the frequency and percentage distribution of the sample on birth in the United States.

Table 4

Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Sample by Birth in the U.S.

Born in the U.S.?	N	%
Yes	14	10.5
No	119	89.5
Total	133	100.0

Fully 89.5 percent of the sample were born outside the United States. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the sample are first generation immigrants. Table 5 contains the summary statistics on the number of years spent in the United States.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Length of Time in the U.S.

Mean	S.D.	Median	Minimum	Maximum
11.05	8.61	8.0	1.0	44.0

The average time spent in the U.S. was 11.05 years.

The median years was 8.0, indicating that most had spent less than a decade in the U.S.

In summary, the sample is predominately female, the majority is younger than 30 years of age, and nearly all were born outside the United States. Most are recent immigrants having arrived within the last 10 years.

Design

Permission was verbally granted by the Chairperson of the Humanities Department of La Guardia College. All participating faculty gave their consent to participate in the study. Students were verbally advised of their rights of confidentiality, refusal without retribution, and access to the results of the study. It is planned that the study results will be published as an article in the College newspaper. Questionnaires had no identifying information on them other than the general demographic categories.

The survey instrument was administered to students in their Spanish and Bilingual Education courses. The instrument took 15 minutes to administer.

Techniques of Measurement

The variables of gender, age, ethnicity, length of time in the United States, English and Spanish proficiency, and language use are the independent variables. The dependent variables were codeswitching behavior, contact with codeswitching by others, and attitudes toward codeswitching. All these variables were measured by self-report. Table 6

contains summary statistics on the composite indicators.

Table 6

Summary Statistics and Coefficient Alphas for Composite Scales

Scale	N of Items	Mean	S.D.	Range	Alpha
English Proficiency	4	12.44	2.52	1-16	.88
Spanish Proficiency	4	14.98	1.92	1-16	.90
Spanish Usage	7	23.71	4.57	7-35	.77
Codeswitching Familiarity	3	7.76	1.97	3-12	.44
Codeswitching Attitudes	7	11.40	3.32	7-21	.76

English and Spanish proficiency were measured by asking respondents to rate themselves on four point Likert-type scales from very good to poor or none on understanding, speaking, reading, and writing for each language. The data in Table 6 indicate that the subjects generally perceive themselves as more proficient in Spanish than English. The coefficient alpha is an indicator of unidimensionality of the scale. Both English and Spanish proficiency scales achieved high alphas (alpha = .88 and .90,respectively). Generally speaking, according to Cronbach (1951), a minimum reliability for a scale is an alpha of .50.

Spanish usage was measured using a seven item scale that asked which language was used when speaking to significant others (see specimen questionnaire, Items 13-19). For each significant other, respondents were provided

with a five-point Likert-type response from exclusively Spanish to exclusively English spoken. All items were reverse coded to indicate Spanish usage. The Spanish Usage Scale achieved an alpha coefficient of .77, indicating that it was unidimensional.

The Codeswitching Familiarity indicator contained three items referring to whether friends, relatives, and children codeswitch when they talk. Subjects were provided a four-point Likert-type response mode to indicate the frequency of codeswitching, from frequently to never. The Codeswitching Familiarity Index achieved an alpha coefficient of .44, below the minimum criterion for a scale. Therefore, it will be viewed as a composite index that is not unidimensional, and results will have to be interpreted with caution.

The Codeswitching Attitude Scale consists of four items referring to comfort in codeswitching with various significant others, and three items referring to their opinions concerning the effects of mixing language on Spanish, English, and verbal expression. The Codeswitching Attitude Scale achieved an alpha reliability of .76, indicating that it was unidimensional.

Data Analysis

The hypotheses were tested using three multiple regression analysis, assessing the effects of gender, age, place of origin, length of time in the U.S., English proficiency, and Spanish use, on the three dependent variables: codeswitching behavior, familiarity with codeswitching, and

attitudes toward codeswitching. For the analysis, place of family origin will be dichotomized into South American and non-South American subsamples, since there are too few subjects from each country of origin, and South Americans constitute the largest sub-sample. A supplemental analysis using analysis of variance, compared ethnic groups on codeswitching behavior, familiarity with codeswitching, and attitudes toward codeswitching.

RESULTS

The data will be presented in four sections: (1) familiarization with codeswitching, (2) codeswitching behavior, (3) attitudes toward codeswitching, and (4) ethnic differences in codeswitching. In the first three sections, multiple regression analyses were used, employing the direct method of forced entry of all variables. This method was used because hypotheses included all variables in the equations.

Familiarization with Codeswitching

Familiarization with codeswitching was measured by asking the respondents whether they observed their family, friends, and children codeswitch. These items were summed into an index of codeswitching familiarity. Table 7 contains the summary statistics of the multiple regression analysis of gender, age, ethnicity (dichotomized into South Americans and non-South Americans), length of time in the U.S., English proficiency, and Spanish use on codeswitching

familiarity.

Table 7

Summary Statistics of Multiple Regression Analysis on Codeswitching Familiarity

Variable	Beta	T	Sig.
Spanish Usage	-.16	-1.69	n.s.
Years in the U.S.	-.07	-0.68	n.s.
English Proficiency	-.06	-0.55	n.s.
Age	-.03	-0.28	n.s.
Place of Family Origin	.01	0.13	n.s.
Gender	-.05	-0.52	n.s.

Variable	df	SS	MS	F	Sig.
Regression	6	19.96	3.32	0.85	n.s.
Residual	126	492.34	3.91		

Multiple R	.20
Multiple R^2	.04

The data in Table 7 indicate that the variables in the regression are not significantly related to familiarity with codeswitching. The F-ratio on the analysis of variance table is 0.85, (df = 6,126), which was non-significant. This means that the amount of combined variance accounted for by the variables in the regression equation was less than that required to achieve a significant difference. Therefore, all hypotheses related to familiarization with codeswitching are not accepted.

Codeswitching Behavior

Hypotheses posited relationships between age, gender, Spanish usage, length of time in the United States, place of origin, and English proficiency on the frequency of code-switching. Table 8 contains the summary statistics on codeswitching use by the above independent variables.

Table 8

Summary Statistics of Multiple Regression Analysis on Codeswitching Behavior

Variable	Beta	T	Sig.
Spanish Usage	-.16	-1.71	n.s.
Years in the U.S.	.18	1.65	n.s.
Age	-.09	-0.95	n.s.
English Proficiency	-.05	-0.51	n.s.
Place of Family Origin	-.04	-0.43	n.s.
Gender	.04	0.40	n.s.

Variable	df	SS	MS	F	Sig.
Regression	6	8.29	1.38	1.62	n.s.
Residual	126	106.94	0.85		

Multiple R	.27
Multiple R^2	.07

There were no significant relationships between variables entered into the regression equation and self-reported codeswitching use. The F-ratio of the regression

was 1.62 (df = 6,126), which was nonsignificant. Therefore, hypotheses related to codeswitching use were not accepted.

Attitudes Toward Codeswitching

Hypotheses posited relationships between age, gender, Spanish usage, length of time in the United States, place of origin, and English proficiency on the attitudes toward codeswitching. Table 9 contains the results of the regression on attitudes toward codeswitching.

Table 9

Summary Statistics of Multiple Regression Analysis on Attitudes toward Codeswitching

Variable	Beta	T	Sig.
Years in the U.S.	.32	2.98	<.01
Place of Family Origin	-.17	-1.93	n.s.
English Proficiency	-.14	-1.40	n.s.
Age	-.11	-1.23	n.s.
Gender	-.10	-1.17	n.s.
Spanish Usage	.01	0.10	n.s.

Variable	df	SS	MS	F	Sig.
Regression	6	165.74	27.62	2.69	<.05
Residual	126	1292.64	10.25		

Multiple R	.34
Multiple R^2	.11

The data in Table 9 indicate that length of time in the

United States is positively related to attitudes toward codeswitching. The standardized beta, which can be interpreted as a partial correlation correlation, controlling for the other variables in the equation, was .32, significant at the .01 level. This result suggests that the longer Hispanic people live in the United States, the more positively disposed they become to codeswitching. No other hypotheses were supported by the data.

Place of Origin and Codeswitching

Because place of origin was dichotomized for the regression analyses into South American and non-South American, and because place of origin is a theoretically important variable, separate univariate analyses were conducted using one-way analyses of variance for place of origin by the three dependent variables of familiarity with codeswitching, codeswitching behavior, and attitudes toward codeswitching. The dichotomization of the variable for the multivariate analyses could possibly obscure relationships between place of origin and the dependent variables, resulting in a type II error, in which the null hypotheses were accepted, when they should be rejected. Table 10 contains the results of those analyses.

Table 10

Summary Statistics of Analysis of Variance on Codeswitching by Place of Origin

Variable/Group		Mean	S.D.	F	Sig.
CS Familiarity					
Puerto Ricans	30	8.77	1.79	5.00	<.01a
Dominicans	25	7.72	1.99		
Cubans	16	6.25	1.87		
Central Amers.	27	7.48	1.58		
South Amers.	35	7.82	2.01		
Total	133	7.76	1.97		
CS Behavior					
Puerto Ricans	30	3.27	0.78	8.21	<.01b
Dominicans	25	2.36	0.95		
Cubans	16	2.25	0.68		
Central Amers.	27	2.11	0.89		
South Amers.	35	2.40	0.84		
Total	133	2.51	0.93		
CS Attitude					
Puerto Ricans	30	12.25	3.01	3.22	<.01
Dominicans	25	12.86	3.59		
Cubans	16	10.91	4.21		
Central Amers.	27	10.91	3.19		
South Amers.	35	10.23	2.54		
Total	133	11.40	3.32		

Notes:
a - Puerto Ricans significantly different from Cubans.
b - Puerto Ricans significantly different from all other groups.

The data in Table 10 indicate that place of origin significantly affects familiarity with codeswitching, codeswitching behavior, and attitudes toward codeswitching. The Puerto Ricans score highest in familiarity, and use, and second highest in attitudes toward codeswitching. This suggests that Puerto Ricans have incorporated codeswitching into their linguistic behavior more than other Hispanics. It is interesting to note that the South Americans are

second highest in self-reported codeswitching behavior, while scoring lowest in codeswitching attitudes. This finding suggests that one difference between Puerto Ricans and South Americans is that, while both engage in codeswitching -- although somewhat less among South Americans -- Puerto Ricans do not see it as negatively as South Americans.

CONCLUSION

The concluding section of this study will include: (1) a discussion of the findings in light of the previous literature and their implications, and (2) recommendations for further research.

Discussion of the Findings

This study investigated familiarity with codeswitching, codeswitching behavior, and attitudes toward codeswitching in as sample of 30 Puerto Ricans, 25 Dominicans, 16 Cubans, 27 Central Americans, and 35 South Americans. All were students attending La Guardia College in New York City. Female students outnumbered males at a ratio of nearly 5:1. This is indicative of the fact that male Hispanic students are more likely to drop out of school than female Hispanics.

Much of the research cited above documented the existence of codeswitching. This study found that codeswitching behavior was relatively widespread among the sample (sample mean = 2.51 on a scale of of 1-4, where 1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = occasionally, and 4 = frequently). Research by

Poplack (1981) and the Language Policy Task Force (1982) have suggested that codeswitching exists as a linguistic marker among ethnic groups. The data in Table 10 indicate that there are significant ethnic differences in codeswitching behavior, familiarity with codeswitching, and attitudes toward codeswitching.

These data indicate that age, gender, Spanish usage, length of time in the United States, or English proficiency affects familiarity with codeswitching or codeswitching behavior. Attitudes toward codeswitching become more positive the longer Hispanics live in the United States. Of the background variables, the most powerful predictor of familiarity and codeswitching behavior is place of origin.

These data must be interpreted cautiously because of the delimitations of the sample, which is a very narrow stratum of Hispanic society. The data reported here is suggestive in terms of codeswitching. This is the first study that compares various Hispanic ethnic groups in terms of codeswitching behaviors and attitudes. Herein lies its importance. The data have indicated that background factors across the various ethnic groups, such as gender, age, English proficiency, and Spanish usage are of less importance than ethnic group membership in terms of codeswitching behaviors and attitudes.

One interesting sidelight is the generally mixed evaluations of codeswitching evidenced in the sample. On the Codeswitching Attitude Scale, the sample mean was 11.4 out of a possible 21, indicating that about as many respondents

felt that codeswitching was a negatively valenced behavior, as felt it was positive.

These findings suggest that different ethnic groups engage in differing behaviors and attitudes toward codeswitching, with Puerto Ricans using codeswitching most and being most favorably disposed, and South Americans least disposed, and Cubans least likely to engage in codeswitching. Thus, the data here lend support to the hypothesis that codeswitching exists as an ethnic marker.

Recommendations for Future Research

The ethnographic studies of codeswitching have delineated the communicative functions of codeswitching behavior. Additional research should be conducted on ascertaining the social meanings of codeswitching. The apparent controversial nature of codeswitching should be explored by sociolinguistic researchers to find not only its linguistic functions, but its social functions. Since this study found significant variation by ethnic group, it would be important to analyze attitudes toward codeswitching in greater detail by ethnic group.

This study was conducted among college students, a group relatively unrepresentative among U.S.-resident Hispanics. Additional research should be conducted on codeswitching behavior among other Hispanic subpopulations more representative of the Hispanic community as a whole.

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APPENDIX

Specimen Questionnaire

DIRECTIONS: Please answer each and every question by circling the number of the appropriate response. Please answer all questions.

1. Gender:
   1. Male
   2. Female

2. Age:
   1. Less than 20 years old
   2. 20 - 29
   3. 30 - 39
   4. 40 - 49
   5. 50 - 59
   6. 60 or older

3. Were you born in the U.S.?
   1. Yes
   2. No

4. Place of family origin:
   1. Puerto Rico
   2. Dominican Republic
   3. Cuba
   4. Central America, country:_____
   5. South America, country:_____

5. Length of residence in the United States: _____Years

****

Please use the following responses in answering items 1-8:

4 = Very Good
3 = Good
2 = Fair
1 = Poor or none

TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE, HOW PROFICIENT ARE YOU:

1.	in understanding English?	4	3	2	1
2.	in speaking English?	4	3	2	1
3.	in reading English?	4	3	2	1
4.	in writing English?	4	3	2	1
5.	in understanding Spanish?	4	3	2	1
6.	in speaking Spanish?	4	3	2	1
7.	in reading Spanish?	4	3	2	1
8.	in writing Spanish?	4	3	2	1

For questions 1-7, please circle:

1 = Exclusively Spanish
2 = Mostly Spanish
3 = Spanish and English about equally
4 = Mostly English
5 = Exclusively English
N/A = Not Applicable

WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU USE WHEN YOU TALK WITH YOUR

1.	father?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
2.	mother?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
3.	brothers and sisters?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
4.	children?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
5.	friends?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
6.	boss?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
7.	co-workers?	1	2	3	4	5	N/A

****

For questions 1-4, please use the following responses:

4 = Frequently
3 = Occasionally
2 = Rarely
1 = Never

4	3	2	1	1.	When you talk, how often do you mix English and Spanish words?
4	3	2	1	2.	When your friends talk, how often do they mix English and Spanish words?
4	3	2	1	3.	When adult relatives talk, how often do they mix English and Spanish words?
4	3	2	1	4.	When your children talk, how often do they mix English and Spanish words? (If you have no children, please leave blank.)

For questions 1-4, please use the following responses:

1 = Uncomfortable
2 = Comfortable

HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE MIX SPANISH AND ENGLISH WORDS WHEN THEY TALK?

1. yourself 1 2
2. your friends 1 2
3. your family 1 2
4. your children (if you have children) 1 2

5. What do you feel is the effect of mixing Spanish and English words on the English language?
   1. Ruins it
   2. Weakens it
   3. No effect
   4. Some positive effect
   5. Enriches it

6. What do you feel is the effect of mixing Spanish and English words on the Spanish language?
   1. Ruins it
   2. Weakens it
   3. No effect
   4. Some positive effect
   5. Enriches it

7. What do you think is the effect of mixing Spanish and English words on the speakers?
   1. Weakens their expression
   2. No effect
   3. Strengthens their expression

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS. YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.